

ISSN 1343-8980

創価大学
国際仏教学高等研究所
年 報

平成29年度
(第21号)

Annual Report
of
The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
at Soka University

for the Academic Year 2017

Volume XXI

創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所
東京・2018・八王子

The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
Soka University
Tokyo · 2018

Gāthās of the lost Jinhuachao 金花抄 in Old Uigur translation

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Introduction¹

The *Jinhuachao* 金花抄² is an Abhidharma text that is known only from other works, but the text itself no longer exists. Thus, the fragments edited by K. Kudara are of high importance for Abhidharma studies. The author published some *gāthās* from the Hedin manuscript No. 40³ of the Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm. His Japanese study was translated by K. Röhrborn into German in 1988.⁴ K. Kudara concluded that the *Jinhuachao* 金花抄 doubtlessly was a commentary to the *Abhidharmakośāśāstra*.⁵ In the Song Gaoseng chuan 宋高僧傳 (T.L.2061)⁶ two commentaries under the name *Jinhuachao* 金花抄 are mentioned. One is the 金花抄 in 10 juan by 崇彥 Chong Yu, the other the *Jushelun Jinhuachao* 俱舍論金華鈔 in 20 juan by 玄約 Xuan Yue of Tang. Both works are lost. It is impossible to determine the exact nature of this *Jinhuachao*, but clearly the verses preserved here in translation exactly parallel the *gāthās* of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*. Discussing the origin of the Old Uigur text K. Kudara came to the conclusion that its base was the first commentary⁷.

K. Kudara identified already all six *gāthās* preserved on the Stockholm leaf No. 40 with the equivalents in the *Abhidharmakośa*, but presented only the edition of three *gāthās*. Since this Old Uigur translation offers an interesting example for the question how foreign Buddhist groups were studying the Sanskrit and the Chinese versions and how they interpreted the source texts in their mother languages that were very different from both "original" religious languages I would like to present here the whole material including the *gāthās* already presented by K. Kudara. It will be shown that even if the Vorlage was a or the

¹ Here I would like to express my deep gratitude to Dieter Maue who made valuable suggestions and corrections, but for all remaining mistakes and misunderstandings I alone am responsible. I extend my thanks to Seishi Karashima who accepted my paper for the *Annual Report of the International Research Institute of Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*.

² Hedin 40 (fac-simile in Shōgaito 2014, p. 337) with the leaf number *otuzunc yeti* "XXX, 7". 40R24 (cp. fig. 3) 金花抄中云 *kym q'* č'v [*kim ka čav]-ta sözlär "In the Kimkačav (it) says". The title could also be written 金華鈔 (cp. Kudara 1982, p. 990 = Kudara 1988, p. 32). The pustaka leaves of this book were prepared with a hole in the first third of a leaf, but on this leaf No. 40 the space of the hole was also used for writing (for these lines cp. fig. 3).

³ Meanwhile a new fragment of this manuscript among the texts preserved at the Lujia Caotang was recognised by Zhang Tieshan (publication in print).

⁴ Kudara 1982, Kudara 1988.

⁵ For the details cp. Kudara 1988, pp. 32-33.

⁶ The method to use the numbers of the dictionary of Giles for the Chinese characters as K. Röhrborn does is a source of errors, here e. g. the word 僧 *seng* [this character is registered in Giles as No. 9617] correctly given by Kudara 1982, p. 994, was transcribed as *hsing* with the Giles number 4617 形 (Kudara 1988, p. 27).

⁷ Kudara 1982, pp. 990-989; Kudara 1988, p. 33.

Chinese text as we know it today the translator considered the Sanskrit text as well.

The main topic of these *gāthās* concerns the preservation of the Dharma after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha. Through faith and the vow for salvation, it is possible to remove the impurities (Skt. *kleśas*) and triumph over other teachings.

As K. Kudara pointed out, these poems contain materials that show how the translator could provide the same text in two different translations. The remark (25) 大師世眼 *tegiūči šloknuṇ yalıj äntkäkčäsi bo äriür*⁸ introduces a word-for-word translation of the Sanskrit text. The second translation follows the Chinese text. For example, K. Kudara already recognized the text D as a version that is literally in line with the Chinese.⁹ Since the Old Uigur texts of chapter VIII are missing so far, possible variants for the corresponding verses cannot be given. Here, those verses of chapter IX in the translation formed according to the Chinese model are presented in bold letters.

gāthā 01 = Abhdhk. VIII.41

(cp. fig. 3)

Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin's French and L. Pruden's English translation

01		
a	nimīlite śāstari lokacakṣuṣi	yumulmışta bahşıta yertinčünүj közi bolmıšta
	大師世眼久已閉	
b	kṣayam gate sākṣijane ca bhūyasā	alkınmakka barmışta tanuk boltačı tınl(1)glar ymä üküši anantta ulatılar ärür
	堪爲證者多散滅	
c	adr̥ṣṭatattvair niravagrahahaiḥ kṛtam	körmätük odguraklanmaklıglar üzä midik partagçanlar ärür titdaçısızlar üzä kılıldı
	不見真理無制人	
d	kutarkikaiḥ śāsanam etad ākulam	yavız tarkikeli üzä nom şazın kiyim kuyum
	由鄙尋思亂聖教	

La Vallée Poussin: Le Maître, œil du monde, s'est fermé ; les témoins, en général, ont péri ; la loi est mise en confusion par des hommes qui n'ont pas vu la vérité, mauvais sophistes, indépendants, que rien ne retient.¹⁰

Pruden: The Master, the eye of the world, is closed; the witnesses, for the most part, have perished; the Law is put into confusion by persons who have not seen the Truth; and by bad sophists, independent, from whom nothing is gained.¹¹

Analysis

(a) (26) yumulmış-ta bahşı-ta yertinčü-nüj közi bolmıš-ta
 nimīlite śāstari loka- cakṣuṣi
 大師世眼久已閉

8. Kudara 1982, p. 994; Kudara 1988, p. 28.

9. Shōgaito 2014, p. 170.

10. La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, p. 224.

11. Pruden, p. 1282.

- (b) alkınmak- (27) -ka barmışta tanuk boltaçı tınl(1)glar ymä üküşi anant-ta (28) ulatilar ärür
kşayam gate sāksj- jane ca bhūyasā
堪爲證者多散滅
- c) körmätük odguraklanmaklıqlar üzä midik (29) partagčan-lar ärür tiddaçisizlar üzä kılıldı
adırsta- tattvair niravagrahaih krtam
不見眞理無制人
- (d) yavız tarkike-(30)-li¹² üzä nom şazin kiyim kuyum ..
ku- tārkikaih sāsanam etad ākulam
由鄙尋思亂聖教

Translation of the Old Uigur text

(a) When the Master who had become the eye of the world had closed his eyes¹³, (b) when also those who were witnesses perished, most of them – these are Ānanda and others –, (c) by those who did not see and have fixed views, by those who are as *prthagjana* laypeople¹⁴ without restraint, (d) by bad philosophers the *dharma-sāsana* was made disordered.

Notes

(a) When one compares the Skt. and Chin. word order, it is evident that the Uigur translator followed the Sanskrit text, especially by reproducing the cases. He put the “closing (of the eyes)” at the beginning of the sentence as in Sanskrit, while it takes the final position in the Chinese version.

(b) At the end of the line the translator added *anant-ta ulati-lar ärür* “Ānanda and others”, probably in order to make it clear that one should understand the Buddha’s early disciples.

(c) The term *odguraklanmak* is known from the Tattvārtha, e. g. 決者決斷 [*jue yue jue duan* “making decisions is to decide and to abandon”], differently in the translation *yincürmäk ärsär odguraklanmak iizmäk ärür* “Veneration is to decide and to abandon”¹⁵. Skt. *niravagraha* “without restraint” is translated as *midik partagčan-lar ärür tiddaçisizlar üzä* where *midik partagčan-lar ärür* is an interpretation. Dieter Maue suggested that *syz* is the negative suffix corresponding to Skt. *nir-*, wherefore one has to understand *tiddaçisizlar* as **tidmadaçilar* “those who do not restrain”. H. Tokyürek mentioned a similar construction of -DAČI + sXz in her edition of Altun Yaruk IV: *ol köyöl yanä öysüz b(ä)lgüsüz işsiz küdöksüz etdäçisiz yaratdaçisiz tetir* = Chin. 心亦不可說. 無色相無事業. 非可造作 “One can also not explain the mind which is without form and characteristic, without work and activity, and one cannot make and create it”.¹⁶

(d) The compound *kiyim kuyum* was explained in a different context by D. Maue and Niu Ruji: “From köjöl we see that *kiyim kuyum* is some sort of mental state or behaviour.”¹⁷ Although the meaning “confused, disordered” is quite sure, the derivation is not. Hopefully new examples will turn up for solving this problem.

¹². ly is surely a mistake for l'r *lar* the plural marker.

¹³. The term *lokacakṣus* = 世眼 = *yertinčünүү közi* is one of the designations of the Buddha spread around the world, cp. Nakamura 817b, 818b; DDB.

¹⁴. For the compound *midik* (Sogdian myδ'k) *partagčan* (<< Skt. *prthagjana*) cp. ED 765b.

¹⁵. Tattvārtha B 935.

¹⁶. Tokyürek 2015, p. 511.

¹⁷. Maue & Niu 2012, pp. 57-58.

For the pāda (d) the Old Uigur author provided two variants marked by *ymä ter* “and one says” at the end and by 又 “again” followed by final *ymä ter* “and one says”.

- (d) yavız tarkike-(30)-li üzä nom şazin kiyim kuyum
 1. *adrilur yavız tarkike-lar* (31) üzä nom şazin böyük böyük – *ymä ter*
 “By bad philosophers the dharma-śāsana is divided into parts – and one says.”
- (d) yavız tarkike-(30)-li üzä nom şazin kiyim kuyum
 2. 又 – *yavız bögüš sakış-lig-* (32) –*l(a)r*¹⁸ üzä – *ymä ter*
 “Again: By bad recognisers and thinkers – and one says.”

The first alternative not supported by Sanskrit or Chinese is an interpretation paraphrasing the work of (bad) philosophers. In the second alternative the author translated the Sanskrit term into an Uigur compound. Both the words *bögüs*¹⁹ and *sakış*²⁰ have the meaning “thought” derived from verbs “to reckon”. This sentence contains the same mistake (*ly* for *l'r*) as the main text of (d) itself.

gāthā 02 (Kudara A) = Abhdhk. VIII.42 (cp. fig. 3)

Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin's French and L. Pruden's English translation

02		
a	gate 'tha śāntiṁ paramām svayambhuvi	barmışta inçip yeg üstünki nirvanka k(ä)ntün tuymişta
	自覺已歸勝寂靜	
b	svayam̄bhuvah śāsanadhūrdhareṣu ca	k(ä)ntün tuyimışnij şazının särgürdülärtä ymä purnaşita ulatılar ärür
	持彼教者多隨滅	
c	jagaty anāthe gunaghātibhir malaiḥ	yertinçütä umugsuzta ädgülärig koruldurtaçilar üzä nizvanilar üzä
	世無依怙喪衆德	
d	nirañkuśaiḥ svairam ihādyā caryate	ijnräksizlar üzä özin ögdämin amti yorilur
	無鉤制惑隨意轉	

La Vallée Poussin: Car, Celui qui sait par lui-même est parti dans le Calme suprême, et aussi les soutiens de la loi de Celui qui sait par lui-même : le monde n'a plus de gardien. Les vices, qui détruisent les biens spirituels, ont maintenant pleine liberté.²¹

Pruden: For he who knows for himself has departed on the Supreme Path, as well as the supports of the Law of the one who knows for himself: the world no longer has a Protector. The defilements, which destroy spiritual qualities, now have full liberty.²²

^{18.} Written ly.

^{19.} ED 329b.

^{20.} ED 816-817.

^{21.} La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, 224.

^{22.} Pruden, p. 1282.

Analysis

- (a) barmış-ta inčip yeg üstünki nirvan-ka (33) k(ä)ntün tuymiš-ta
gate 'tha (> hi)²³ śāntim paramām svayambhuvi
自覺已歸勝寂靜
- (b) k(ä)ntün tuymiš-niŋ šazinin²⁴ särgürdäči-lär-tä (34) ymä purnaši-ta ulati-lar ärür :
svayambhuvaḥ śāsana- dhūrdhareṣu ca
持彼教者多隨滅
- (c) yertinčütä umugsuzta ädgü-lär-(35)-ig koruldurtačı-lar üzä nizvani-lar üzä
jagaty anāthe guṇa- ghātibhir malaiḥ²⁵
世無依怙喪衆德
- (d) iŋrak-sız-lar üzä (36) özin ögdäm-in amti yorilur :
niraikuśaiḥ svairam ihādyā caryate
無鉤制惑隨意轉

Translation of the Old Uigur text

- (a) When the One who gained the knowledge by himself departed into the highest²⁶ Nirvāṇa,
(b) as well as the supporters of the discipline of the One who gained the knowledge by himself like *Purnaši and others, (c) in the world without protector²⁷ on (the path of) defilements (*kleśa*) which destroy the good qualities, (d) the unrestrained²⁸ wander about by themselves at their own discretion.

Notes

- (b) At the end of the line the translator added an interesting but unclear statement omitted by K. Kudara: *purnaši-ta ulati-lar ärür*. Evidently, there is no Sanskrit parallel. I assume that it refers to Pūrṇa Maitrāyaṇīputra who often simply was called Pūrṇa.²⁹ Being one of the best disciples of the Buddha he was regarded as a master and excellent preacher of the dharma. The clear spelling pwrn̄'šy can be read only as *purnaši* where the final syllable šy might represent *shi* 師 “master” which is admittedly an unusual formation.
- (c) The verb *kurul-* or *korol-* and especially the nomen actoris of this text was discussed by Maue & Niu: “The verb korol- is met with as <qwrwl> in Sogd.-Uig. script in the sense of ‘to suffer loss, to get destroyed’; two instances are quoted in OTWF 666 f. Special importance falls to the nomen actoris from the causative stem, <qwrwldwrt’čy> being the

23. AKBh (ed. Pradhan): 'tha, with varia lectio: hi which corresponds to Uig. *inčip* (note by D. Maue).

24. The mark beside the locative suffix (t') means that is to be deleted.

25. AKBh (ed. Pradhan): mataih, with varia lectio: malaiḥ which was accepted by Kudara 1988, p. 29 (additional note by D. Maue).

26. In the German translation (Kudara 1988, p. 29) the attribute was not translated, in the Japanese version (Kudara 1982, p. 993 (49)) it was 勝れて最上なる “best and highest” (for Skt. *parama*).

27. Kudara 1988, p. 29 has accordingly “in der führerlosen Welt” (in the world without guide), while Kudara 1982, 993 (49) translates through 世間において、救なきものにおいて “in the world, in hopelessness”. Formally, both interpretations are possible. Semantically, it can be taken for sure that Skt. *anātha-* and *umugsuz* serve as qualifying adjectives which are subordinated to “the world”. Because of the inverse word order the adjectival *umugsuz* must have the locative suffix.

28. Literally “hook-less, without hooks” like untamed elephants, cp. Trautmann p. 66: “The restraining purpose of the *ankuśa* is indicated by the adjective *niraikuśa*, indicating a person who does not follow the rules, who is unrestrained, a bohemian perhaps.”

29. DDB (sub 富樓那).

equivalent of Skt. *ghātin-* ‘killing, destroying’ in the translation of a *jagatī* strophe³⁰. Given that *korol-* and <*qwrwl*> are one and the same verb, this would imply that the stem vowel was o. Consequently the etymological derivation from *kuri-* ‘to be, or become dry’, favoured by Erdal (OTWF 194 f.), could not be upheld. The basic verb of *korol-* is *kora-* “to suffer loss, be damaged”, derived from *kor* ‘damage, loss’. The regularly formed passive *koral-* is met with at least twice in BuddhUig II 183 f., where the reading <*qwryl*> has to be replaced by <*qwr'l*>, as M. Erdal kindly informed us.³¹ The assimilation *koral-* > *korol-* is not unparalleled, cf. *yölön-* ‘to betake o.s., take refuge’ <*yölän*>³². In Kasai 2017³³ the verb *koruldur*⁻³⁴ is recorded two times (Aa12, Gb18), but probably in the second instance (Gb18) for *koruldurmadin* one should read *örlätürmädin* in compound with *ämgätmätin* “without injuring”).

(d) Skt. *nirankuśa* “extravagant, independent, uncontrolled, unruly”.³⁵ The Old Uigur word is here *ıyrak* a variant of the usual *ırgak* “hook”³⁶. A further variant is *ırıjak*³⁷. The most probable development could be arranged in the following way: *ırgak* > **ırigak* > *ırıjak* > *(by metathesis) *ıyırak* > *ıyrak*. For further examples and a possible explanation cp. the data of the translation of the Xuanzang Biography.³⁸

(d) Kudara 1982, p. 993 (49) *özin ökdämin* “みずから意のまま” (“by oneself’s wish”) was changed in Kudara 1988, p. 29³⁹ into *özin ök temin* “nach Gutdünken” without a clear definition of the single words. The conjecture is not advisable in view of the combination *öz ögdäm*⁴⁰ though it is rarely attested, cf. Ch/U 6181 verso, l. 03 [] *kurug öz ögdäm taplap* “pleasing in empty, selfish discretion”; Ch/U 8192 verso, l. 10 [] *ögdäm kılık-lig äriglig* “having a [...] behaviour at one’s own discretion”.

(d) Here the verb *yori-* “to go, to march” is used in the passive voice which is the only occurrence up to now⁴¹, surely induced by the Sanskrit passive *caryate*.

gāthā 03 (Kudara B) = Abhdhk. VIII.43

(cp. fig. 3)

Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin’s French and L. Pruden’s English translation

03		
a	iti kanṭhagataprāṇam	munı munçulayu boguzta barmış isig özlügü ..
	既知如來正法壽	
b	viditvā śāsanam muneh	bilip täŋri burhannıñ nomın şazının
	漸次淪亡如至喉	

^{30.} This is the strophe discussed here, cp. OTWF 826.

^{31.} The original has in both cases clearly *qwryl*-; *koral-* seems to be unattested, cp. Nuri 2015, p. 40, but the author reads *quril-* with u in the first syllable.

^{32.} Maue & Niu 2012, pp. 67-68.

^{33.} Kasai 2017.

^{34.} The author reads *kuruldur*-.

^{35.} Vgl. Trautmann 2015, p. 66.

^{36.} ED 216a.

^{37.} BT XIII.25.8.

^{38.} HT IX, n. to 671-672 (pp. 306-307).

^{39.} It is not clear whether this change was introduced by the author or by the translator.

^{40.} Cp. ED 102 *öktem* “proud, boastful” in a pejorative sense.

^{41.} OTWF 690-691.

c	balakālam malānām ca	küçädmäklig üdin nizvanilarñij ymä
	是諸煩惱力增時	
d	na pramādyam mumukṣubhiḥ	näj sımtalguluk ärmäz ozmak kutrulmak küsüslüglär üzä tep
	應求解脱勿放逸	

La Vallée Poussin: Voyant que la loi du Muni est à son dernier souffle, que c'est l'heure de la force des vices, ceux qui désirent la délivrance doivent être diligents.⁴²

Pruden: Seeing that the Law of the Muni is in its last breath, and that it is the hour of the forces of defilements, those who desire liberation should be diligent.⁴³

Analysis

- (a) munı munčulayu boguzta barmış (37) isig özlüğün ..
iti kanṭha- gata- prāṇam
既知如來正法壽
- (b) bilip [#] tājri burhan-nıň nomin şazının
viditvā śāsanam [#] muneḥ
漸次淪亡如至喉
- (c) küçä-(38)-dmäklig üdin nizvanilarñij ymä
bala- kālam malānām ca
是諸煩惱力增時
- (d) näj sımtalguluk ärmäz oz-(39)-mak kutrulmak küsüslüglär üzä tep
na pramādyam mumukṣubhiḥ
應求解脱勿放逸

Translation of the Old Uigur text

(a-b) Thus, perceiving the divine Buddha's *dharma-śāsana* as being in its (last) breath (c) and the time when the kleśas become strong, (d) those who wish to be released must not be careless.

Notes

(b) In this line the Uigur author changed the word order.⁴⁴

gāthā 04 = Abhdhk. IX.1 (cp. fig. 4)

Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin's French and L. Pruden's English translation
As already demonstrated by K. Kudara in one example, the translations are given on the same leaf in two different versions. The first is strictly based on the Sanskrit text, the other one is nearer to the Chinese version. From the point of view of the Old Uigur language, the latter version is easier to understand as it follows Old Uigur structure patterns.

⁴². La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, p. 224.

⁴³. Pruden, p. 1282.

⁴⁴. It is a rare case in this translation.

04		
a	ity etām suvihita-hetu-mārga- śuddhām	uz nomlatılmış t(a)ŋlig yaŋ üzä arıg kılılmış burhanlarnıj nomlamaklig yanın äsitip
	已善說此淨因道	uz nomlatılı tükätmiş bo arınmaknıj tiltagılıg yan bolmış yol üzä
b	buddhānām pravacana-dharmatām niśamya	k(a)ltı burhanlarnıj čininča y(a)rıkamış činkertü nomnuŋ tözi üzä
c	andhānām vividha-ku-drṣṭi- ceṣṭitānām	täglüklärnij öŋi öŋi türlüğ yavız körümtä säviglig taplaglarnıj
	應捨闇盲諸外執	tägimlig ol titip biligsizlig karaŋgu üzä tägilmiş alku taš azag nomluglarnıj adgakin
d	tīrthyānām matam apavidhya yānty anandhāḥ	tirtılarnıj tapın sıdanın titip barrılar täglük közsüzlär säçilürlär bilgälär bo nomdin tep ymä yörmüş
	惡見所爲求慧眼	ayig körümlüglärnij kayu kilmışın tilägäli bilgä biliglig közüg

La Vallée Poussin: Voyant donc que la doctrine de l'enseignement des Bouddhas est parfaite par un chemin d'arguments démonstratifs, rejetant l'opinion des aveugles aux mauvaises vues et aux mauvaises démarches, les non aveugles vont.⁴⁵

Pruden: Seeing then, by a path of demonstrative arguments, that the doctrine of the teaching of the Buddhas is perfect, and rejecting the opinion of those blind through bad views and through bad steps, the non-blind see.⁴⁶

Analysis

- (a) (41) uz nomlatılmış t(a)ŋ-lig yaŋ üzä arıg kılılmış-ıg
ity etām suvihita- hetu-mārga- śuddhām
- (Var.) **uz (02) nomlatılı tükätmiş bo (03) arınmak-nıj tiltagi bolmiş yol üzä**
已善 說 此 淨 因 道
- (b) burhanlar-(42)-niŋ nomlamak-lig yanın äsitip
buddhānām pravacana-dharmatām niśamya
- (Var.)**k(a)ltı burhanlarnıj čininča y(a)rıkamış (05) čin kertü nomnuŋ tözi üzä**
謂 佛 至 言 真 法 性
- (c) täglük-(43)-lärnij öŋi öŋi türlüğ yavız körümtä säviglig taplag-(44)-ligrarnıj
andhānām vividha- ku- drṣṭi- ceṣṭitānām
- (Var.)**tägimlig ol titip bilig-(06)-sizlig karangu üzä tägilmiş alku taš azag
nomlug-(07)-larnıj adgakin**
應 捨 闇 盲 諸 外執

⁴⁵. La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, pp. 300-301.

⁴⁶. Pruden, p. 1355.

(d) tirtilarñij tapın sıdanın titip barırlar (45) täglük közsüzlär
 tīrthyānām matam apavidhya yānty anandhāḥ
 sāčilürlär bilgälär bo nomdin tep ymä (46) yörmiş

(Var.)ayig körümlüglärniŋ kayu kılmışın tilageli(08) bilgä biliglig közüg
 惡 見 所 爲 求 慧 眼

Translation of the Old Uigur text

(a-b) Having listened to Buddhas' preaching method which is purified by a well preached and proper method (c-d) and having abandoned the intentions of the blind heretics who are fond of different bad views, the blind go, chosen will be wise from this dharma - as also explained.

(Var.)

(a) Well was preached in this way that became the method of the reason of purity – (b) by the true dharma essence like spoken truly by the Buddhas. (c) One should abandon the clinging of all those who are adherents of outside (= non-Buddhist) bad doctrines who are blinded by nescience-darkness, (d) (and having abandoned) whatever is the doing of the adherents of bad views one should wish the wisdom-eye.

Notes

(a) In line 03 the first text *arinmak-nij tiltag-lig yaŋ üzä* was corrected to *arinmak-nij tiltag-i bolmuş yol üzä*. In the variant the manuscript offers an alternative reading: (03) 又 *bo tay-lig yaŋ* (04) *üzä ymä ter* “Also: in this proper manner - one also says”. This shows that the words *yol* and *yaŋ* are interchangeable. Difficult is the word *t'nk* as equivalent of Skt. *hetu*. M. Shōgaito read *tang-liy yang üzä* translating it as “by this wonderful way”⁴⁷. While *taylig* is attested only here, the opposite *taysız* is known from other sources. In the Maitrisimit nom bitig there are two instances of a compound, either *tapsız taysız* (Maitr 73 v 30) or *taysız tapsız* (Maitr 139 verso 09)⁴⁸. For *tay* S. Tekin⁴⁹ referred to *tay* “ruin”⁵⁰ which is impossible because of semantic reasons. Rather, *tay* should have a meaning similar to that of *tap* “satisfaction, sufficiency; satisfactory, sufficient”⁵¹. For the first case J. P. Laut translated the compound as “unappetitlich”⁵². Following Shōgaito’s translation I adopted here the meaning “proper”.

(b) The text offers the following alternative: 又 *törö-sin bilip ymä ter* “Also: perceiving the law of – one also says.”

(d) The word *bäkiz* (pkyz) of the manuscript was corrected by a later hand in cursive script to *barır* (p'ryr) (cp. fig. 4, line 44).

gāthā 05 (Kudara C) = Abhdhk. IX.2

(cp. fig. 4)

Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin's French and L. Pruden's English translation

^{47.} Shōgaito 2014, p. 209.

^{48.} The word is recorded in Doğan & Usta 2014, p. 308a, but without meaning.

^{49.} BT IX, I, p. 96 n. 139 v 9.

^{50.} ED 511a.

^{51.} ED 434a. The derivation *tapsız* often means “ill”. D. Maue found *tapsız* “wunschlos” as equivalent of Tocharian *snāy̥me* (Maue 2015, p. 512).

^{52.} Laut 2001, p. 136.

05		
a	imam̄ hi nirvāṇa- puraika- vartinīm	munı inçip nirvanlıq balıkka yalajuz ävirtäči 此涅槃宮一廣道 bo nirvanlıq orduka yalıuz eltdäci kej yolug
b	tathāgatāditya-vaco 'ṁśu- bhāsvatīm	ançulayu kälmišlig kün tänriniŋ savlıq yarukı üzä yaltrikligig
	千聖所遊無我性	miŋ miŋ tözünlär üzä yoritilmış(ä)nsiz tözlügü
c	nirātmatām ārya-sahasra-vāhitām	m(ä)nsiz bolmakig ukıtdačig miŋ miŋ aryapudgalelar üzä sözlätilmişig
	諸佛日言光所照	kim burhanlıq kün t(ä)ŋriŋ savlıq yarutılmışig
d	na mandacakşur vivṛtām apīkṣate	biligsiz tirtilar ačılımişig ymä körmäzlär
	雖開殊眼不能觀	näčä ačlsar yadlsar ymä közläri umazlar körgäli

La Vallée Poussin: En effet, cette doctrine de l'inexistence de l'âme, seul chemin de la ville du Nirvāṇa, encore qu'elle soit illuminée par ces rayons qui sont les paroles de ce soleil qui est le Tathāgata, encore qu'elle soit suivie par des milliers de saints, encore qu'elle soit sans obstacles, l'homme de vue faible ne la voit pas.⁵³

Pruden: In fact, this doctrine of the non-existence of the soul is the only road to the city of Nirvana; although illumined by the rays which are the words of this sun which is the Tathagata, although followed by thousands of saints, and although it is without obstacles, it is not seen by persons of weak insight.⁵⁴

Analysis

(a) munı inçip nirvanlıq balıkka yalajuz ävirtäči⁵⁵
imam̄ hi nirvāṇa- pura=⁵⁶ eka- vartinīm

(Var.)**bo nirvanlıq orduka (09) yalıuz eltdäci kej yolug**
此 涅槃 宮 一 廣 道

(b) ançulayu (47) kälmišlig kün tänriniŋ savlıq yarukı üzä yaltriklig-(48)-ig
tathāgata aditya- vacas= 'ṁśu bhāsvatīm

(Var.)**miŋ miŋ tözünlär üzä (10) yoritilmış m(ä)nsiz tözlügü**
千 聖 所 遊 無我 性

(c) m(ä)nsiz bolmakig ukıtdačig miŋ miŋ aryapudgaleli⁵⁷ üzä (49) sözlätilmişig
nirātmatām ārya-sahasra- vāhitām

(Var.)**kim burhanlıq kün t(ä)ŋri-(11)-niŋ savlıq yarukı üzä yarutılmışig**
諸 佛 日 言 光 所 照

(d) biligsiz tirtilar ačılımiş-ig ymä körmäzlär :
na⁵⁸ mandacakşur vivṛtām api= īkṣate

^{53.} La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, p. 301.

^{54.} Pruden, p. 1355.

^{55.} Probably a mistake for ävirtäčig (additional note by D. Maue).

^{56.} For marking a canceled sandhi.

^{57.} Emended to lar.

^{58.} The negation is not rendered separately, but incorporated in the verb körmäzlär (additional note by D. Maue).

(Var.) näčä ačilsar (12) yadılsar ymä közläri umazlar körgäli
 雖 開 殊 眼 不能 觀

Translation of the Old Uigur text

(a-) Indeed, (d-) the nescient heretics cannot see (-a-) this (c-) soullessness (-a) which alone is leading to the Nirvāṇa city which is resplendent of the word-splendour of the Tathāgata-sun (-c) which is proclaimed by thousands of Āryapudgalas, (-d) though it is manifest.

(Var.)

(d) The eyes (of the heretics) cannot see – even when clearly propagated - (a) the broad way alone leading to this nirvāṇa palace, (b) the nirātmā essence experienced by thousands and thousands of noble men, (c) the resplendent⁵⁹ illuminated by word-splendour of Buddha, the sun.

Notes

(Additional note) D. Maue proposed the deletion of *ukitdačig* which was probably inserted by a later reader or redactor who did not realize that the hyperbaton *muni ... m(ä)nsiz bolmakig* formed the object. By the addition of *ukitdačig* the syntagma changed its meaning, “who/which is teaching the soullessness”, and its syntactical function, thus becoming parallel to (a) ... ävirtäči<g>, (b) ... yaltrıklığig, (c) ... sözlätilmişig, (d) ... ačilmişig. The resulting translation is different from the Sanskrit text and significantly inferior: (a-) Indeed, (d-) the nescient heretics do not see (-a) this, which alone is leading to the Nirvāṇa-city, (b) which is resplendent of the word-splendour of the Tathāgata-sun god, (c) which is teaching the soullessness, which is proclaimed by thousands of Āryapudgalas, (-d) though it is manifest (literally opened). D. Maue also pointed out that *sözlätilmiş* is an unexpected equivalent of Skt. vāhita- "exerted, endeavoured" and might indicate a varia lectio: *vācita-* (?) “taught” which is known from the Pali but not listed in the Skt. dictionaries.

(d) For *körmäzlär* the manuscript offers the following alternative: (50) 又 *bilmäzlär ymä ter* “Also: they do not know - thus one also says.”

gāthā 06 = Abhdhk. IX.3 (cp. fig. 4)

Overview followed by L. de La Vallée Poussin's French and L. Pruden's English translation

06		
a	iti diñmātram evedam	munı munçulayu buluŋ yıňak tänjinčä ök bo
	於此方隅已略說	munta buluŋ yıňak t(ä)ňinčä kavırasınča sözläyü tüktädim(i)z
b	upadiştam sumedhasām	ukıtilmiş bolgay bilgälärkä bältgülüg
	爲開智者慧毒門	boltı bilgälärkä agulug bilgä bilig tözlüg nomug bašta urulmiş agunuŋ täg
c	vrañadeśo viṣasyeva	m(ä)nsiz nom bašta urulmiş agunuŋ täg
	庶各隨已力堪能	bodun bokun öjün öjün öz küčläriniň umaklıg ädrämi eyin

⁵⁹. Chin. 照 shows that instead of *yaratılmış* the author thought of *yarutilmiş* or *yarutulmiş*.

d	svasāmarthyavisarpaṇa iti	öz kuchi eyin yatildačınıŋ tüzü tuyup bilgülükgütürzün yeg adruk išig kütüküg tep
	遍悟所知成勝業	

La Vallée Poussin: Dans ce livre on n'en trouvera qu'une indication sommaire, à l'usage des hommes intelligents : le poison, une fois dans la blessure, s'insinue partout par sa propre force.⁶⁰

Pruden: In this book one will find but a summary indication for the use of intelligent persons: but poison (of belief in soul), once within a wound, will spread itself everywhere by its own force.⁶¹

Analysis

- (a) munı munčulayu buluŋ yıňak tänjinčä ök bo
iti diň- mätram eva=idam
- (Var.) **munta buluŋ yıňak (13) t(ä)jinčä kavırasınča sözläyü tüktädim(i)z**
於此 方 隅 已略 說
- (b) (51) ukitilmiş bolgay bilgälärkä bälgülüg
upadiştam sumedhasäm
- (Var.) **boltı bilgä-(14)lärkä agulug bilgä bilig tözlüg nomug baš-ta urulmıš (15) agu-nuŋ täg**
爲開智者 慧毒 門
- (c) m(ä)nsiz nom bašta urulmıš (52) agu-nuŋ täg :
vraňa -dešo vişa-sya= iva
- (Var.) **bodun bokun öjin öjin öz küčläri⁶²-(16)-niŋ umak-lig ädrämi eyin**
庶 各隨己力 堪能
- (d) öz kuchi eyin yatildačı-nıŋ
sva- sāmarthya- visarpaṇa iti
- (Var.) **tüzü tuyup bilgü-(17)-lük-üg⁶³ bütürzün⁶⁴ yeg adruk išig kütüküg tep**
遍悟 所知 成勝業

Translation of the Old Uigur text

(a) The thus, in the form of an orientation (b-) taught (c-) (scil.) doctrine of soulless(ness) (-b) will be (fully) manifest for the wise (c) like (the manifestation) of poison which is put into a wound (d) spreading by its own power.

(Var.)

(a) Here, in a measure of an orientation, shortly, we have summarized (the dharma), (b) that became for the wise men⁶⁵ like poison - poison of the nature of wisdom - put into the wound - the dharma⁶⁶ - (c) which is able (to spread) according to its own power

⁶⁰. La Vallée Poussin VIII-IX, p. 301.

⁶¹. Pruden, p. 1355.

⁶². Deleted: *yetmiš-inčä učuz oňay uzun-lar*.

⁶³. In Shōgaito 2014, p. 172 the syllable *-üg* was omitted.

⁶⁴. Deleted: *büttürgäli*.

⁶⁵. #bašta urulmıš boltı “it was put into the wound”. Chin. 開 … 門 “opened … the gate [= the teaching]”. The alternative between the lines: 又 ačılır [Shōgaito: ačılgalır] üçün bilgälär yogun kapıgların “that the compact gates will be opened for the wise ones” clarifies the sense.

⁶⁶. Emend to *nomlug*?

differently in (all) people. (d) (Therefore) one should completely perceive that what is to be perceived and complete the good and excellent work.

Notes

(a) The manuscript has the alternative text variant: 又 *tükätmiš ymä ter* “Also: it is finished – one also says”.

(c) The deleted variant *yetmiš-inčä učuz ojaj uzun-lar* offers the possibility to compare two different translations of the Chinese version, but one can agree with the redactor that the correction better expresses the intention of the text.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
庶 shu	各 ge	隨 sui	已 ji	力 li	堪 kan	能 neng	
All may according to their capacities, to their powers ...							
bodun bokun	öjin öjin		öz	küchlärinij	umaklig	ädrämi	(3) eyin
All people, everybody according to the ability-quality of their powers ...							
bodun bokun	öjin öjin		öz	küchläri (3) <i>yetmišinčä</i>	<i>učuz ojaj</i>	<i>uzunlar</i>	
All people, everybody may as much as their powers reach easily be able to ...							

The term *siddhānta*

syd'n = *śidan* or *śidan*, here synonym of *tap* “wish, opinion”, cp. HT.IV.1407-1409 *anin* [ya]yilmiš *śidan taplagiñiz-[lar]ni b(ä)k katig tutarsızlar* “Therefore you persist in your erroneous views”⁶⁷ = chin. T.L.2053.244c27 *gushou yuzong* 固守愚宗 “you persist in your erroneous views”⁶⁸. Here the word in question must have the same meaning as *taplag* “tenet”. Chin. *zong* 宗 is one of the equivalents of Skt. *siddhānta*, and thus *śidan* could be derived from Chin. *xitan* 悉檀 “accomplishment, skt. *siddhānta*”⁶⁹ (DDB). But only if one accepts that *xi* 悉 spelled in Old Uigur several times *syr*⁷⁰ could also been have adopted as *sy*. For the syllable *tan* 檀 the pronunciation *t'n*⁷¹ is recorded. The word is attested also in the so-called “Lehrtext” edited by K. Kitsudō⁷²: *tört türlüg sy[]d[]*⁷³ as translation of 四悉檀 “four *siddhānta*”. The letters *sy[]d[]* should be restituted there to *si[r]d[an]* as already pointed out by K. Kitsudō. A clear spelling *syd'n* is known from (IOM) SI.0412 B02 *śidan nom-ları* (not identified fragment).

In HT.V.0761-0765 we read *kinayan sevṣej [bah]śilar taš azag nomlug tirtilar k(ä)ntüläرنىj sitan taplagın simišin buzmišin körüp* “The Hīnayāna masters and the heretics of erroneous teachings saw that one destroyed and aborted their views and opinions”. The

⁶⁷. HT IV, pp. 138-139 (his explanation on p. 260 is out of question).

⁶⁸. Li 1995, p. 131.

⁶⁹. “an established conclusion, proved fact, axiom, dogma, a text or authoritative work” (DDB). The Skt. word *siddhānta* was borrowed into Chinese in the transcription 悉檀, cp. Wogihara, p. 1168b.

⁷⁰. Shōgaito et alii 2015, p. 188.

⁷¹. Shōgaito et alii 2015, p. 183.

⁷². Kitsudō 2015, B0021.

⁷³. Cp. fig. 1.

authors⁷⁴ thought that at the end of the line a final letter -t is not visible, but it is clear that the last letter is -n⁷⁵ as in all other examples mentioned.

The lines 21-23 of fol. 40R

The Chinese text of the lines 21-23 written in columns running from left to right were quoted by K. Kudara⁷⁶, but not translated: ²¹淨因道者菩提名淨無我道能 ²²趣涅槃故故名因道淨之因道 ²³依主釋也.

(21) 淨因道 [gāthā 04a] 者 ⁷⁷名淨無我道 [cp. gāthā 05b 無我道] “What concerns the pure way of causes, its ⁷⁷ name is the pure way of nirātmā.”

能 (22) 趣涅槃 [cp. gāthā 05a] 故 故名因道淨之因道 “For being able to grasp the nirvāṇa, therefore its name is ‘way of causes’ (or) ‘pure way of causes’.”

(23) 依主釋也 “That is a tatpuruṣa”.

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⁷⁴. HT V, p. 303 note to 0763.

⁷⁵. Cp. fig. 2. The last letter is a long final -n.

⁷⁶. Kudara 1982, p. 994; Kudara 1988, p. 28.

⁷⁷. The character (cp. fig. 3 col. 21, fifth character = fig. 5) has a special shape with two times four vertical strokes. According to Huang 2005, p. 292 it stands for 涅槃 *niepan* = Skt. *nirvāṇa*, not for 菩提 *puti* = Skt. *bodhi* as K. Kudara read. The latter one has only two times two vertical strokes (cp. fig. 6) in Dunhuang manuscripts, cp. Huang 2005, p. 309.

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Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3. Hedin 40R21-39.

25
30
35

大師世眼
金花指中云
依生釋也

趣涅盤故 故名因道 淨之因道

淨因道者 聘名淨 無我道能

Fig. 4. Hedin 40R39-53.

Fig. 5.

三

Fig. 6.

井